1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
GF5 Alor GF5

426 This be very able
743 to give some five months later with assistance from the customers, whose
[370] sacrifice he was.

Another device to force participation in a feast is used only by his. This constitutes a kind of capital levy. It consists of openly shooting a man's pig in its pen. Since pork is never eaten casually, this forces the pig owner into at least a minor feast. For a case of this sort, the death of Fenton's child as told in his autobiography (page 387) serves as an illustration. The same device is used to force a reluctant kinsman into contributing the dead pig to the deceased's feast. That is, a gunshot to prey is substituted for the pig. This is the process underlying the slaughtering of animals in the wealth contest described previously, and it brings out the advantages of having a large group of kinsmen. Even the accidental death of a pig is often the incentive for a feast or sacrifice. The same holds true if a man shoots a pig that is rooting up his garden either he has warned its owner of the damage it is doing.

There are then a number of ways of forcing a man into feast activities and the meeting of ceremonial obligations if he is reluctant to participate in the prestige game. In the case of individual debts the final recourse, when debtors are delinquent, is forceful seizure or threats of the sort already mentioned. To carry such a procedure through successfully it is necessary to have a sufficient number of supporting kin or
426 fellows who will provide the intimidating show of force required.
427 There were many cases of this sort during my eighteen months there.
402 As a rule pigs are the property seized, but even canoes and guns are
570 subject to seizure, although this means entering and searching another man's house. There is, however, a measure of protection against such procedure. Most financiers with large outstanding credits are careful to keep no very valuable pieces of currency where they can be confiscated. With *mokos* of lower value one makes every effort to lend them out at credit as soon as possible after receiving them. With *mokos* of high value, which circulate less freely, it is customary to bury them secretly in some well-concealed spot. Only a man's brother or his sons may be partners to the hiding place.

426 Pigs cannot be disposed of so easily. Instead there is a system of part-
571 nership in pig raising that assures the owner of an ally in case of seizure.
427 Furthermore, it is a way of concealing the extent of animal wealth. The
● 425 system is to furnish a partner, often in another village, with a piglet to raise. This partner acquires half interest in the animal by giving the owner a stipulated number of payments and by feeding it. If anyone
425 attempts to seize the pig for a debt incurred by either of the co-owners,
571 the partner is of necessity an ally against this forceful procedure. It is a

1:Du Bois E-6 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

way of using wealth to insure support and to enlarge or utilize creditor and kinship loyalties to the full. This same device of farming out pigs prevents every casual passer-by from knowing precisely the animal wealth of any given person. Rarely are more than two pigs kept penned beneath any one house. Malinoi, who was reputed to have an interest in as many as twenty pigs, had only three pigs penned in his dance place complex, where he lived with his three wives, his elder brother, and his brother's wife. Probably Malinoi's financial activities and unreliability account in part for his keeping only three pigs penned in the vicinity of his house.

Enough details have been given to indicate the relationship between finance and status and also the fact that all men are to a certain extent forced into wealth-status manipulations that are precarious and aggravating. The lack of standardized currencies, the custom devices and the chicanery associated with wealth, the difficulties and delays attendant upon feasts, the competitive system in which, by definition, only a fraction of the male population can be successful, all contribute to the frustrations and irritations of gaining prestige. In addition, no one can relax his efforts once the goal has been reached. There are too many socially recognized pressures to permit him to withdraw and still maintain his status rating.

A nice example of the pressures and their inescapability is contained in a conversation between Fanan the interpreter and Maleiaka. Fanan, who was third penned at the moment, began fantasying, saying, "I should like to raise all my own pigs, and when I needed a gong or moko[8] I'd sell a pig for it. For my feasts I would use all my own pigs and rice. That is just what I think. It is not really true."

Maleiaka, who was some twenty years older than Fanan, answered, "That is what your maternal kinsman Lanmani did. People all envied him, although they were angry with him sometimes. He raised his own pigs and if he wanted a gong or a moko he sold a pig to get it. The other pigs he used for his own feasts. If others came and shot his pig for a feast, he did not let them carry it off (i.e., form a debt with him). He kept it himself. If people came bringing a gong or a moko, he would let them have a pig; but if they just promised to pay, he would say, 'I like meat too. I need this pig for a feast.' After a time people did not ask him for a pig unless they had gongs or mokos; they did not try to shoot his pigs any more. If his affinal kin gave him a pig for a dowry payment, he would use it right away, but he would immediately put another pig in his pen to replace it. When it was big, he would take it to his lineal kin and say, 'If you have a gong or moko, give it to